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SOCIAL AMBITIONS OF TEEN-AGE BOYS LIVING IN AN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREA OF THE SOUTH--A RACIAL COMPARISON.

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THE PURPOSES OF AN INVESTIGATION WERE TO TEST THE PROPOSITION THAT RURAL NEGRO AND WHITE YOUTH HAVE SIMILAR LEVELS OF SOCIAL ASPIRATION AND TO EXAMINE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS THAT CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE FINDINGS. THE RESEARCHERS HYPOTHESIZED THAT NEGRO AND WHITE YOUTH HOLD GOALS OF SIMILAR LEVELS IN REFERENCE TO INCOME, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE. THE DATA USED FOR THE STUDY WERE OBTAINED FROM INTERVIEWS WITH MALE HIGH SCHOOL SOPHOMORES IN THREE ALL-RURAL EAST TEXAS COUNTIES DURING APRIL AND MAY OF 1966. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS SHOWS THAT RURAL NEGRO AND WHITE BOYS HAVE SIMILAR ASPIRATIONS TOWARD INCOME, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE. ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL HYPOTHESIS IS UPHELD, APPRECIABLE AGGREGATE DIFFERENCES SEEM TO EXIST BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPINGS IN REFERENCE TO EACH TYPE OF GOAL AS FOLLOWS--(1) NEGROES HAVE SLIGHTLY LOWER INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL GOAL LEVELS, (2) NEGROES TEND TO HAVE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL GOAL LEVELS THAN WHITE BOYS, AND (3) NEGRO AND WHITE YOUTH HOLD DIFFERENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE PREFERENCES. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE SECTION IS INCLUDED ALONG WITH TABULAR PRESENTATIONS OF THE DATA. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEETINGS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MARCH 30, 1967. (ES)

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SOCIAL AMBITIONS OF TEEN-AGE BOYS LIVING IN AN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREA OF THE SOUTH: A RACIAL COMPARISON*

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The Problem

The purpose of this paper is to report the results of an investigation designed to test the proposition that Negro and white youth have similar levels of social aspiration and, furthermore, to examine possible theoretical and policy implications that can be drawn from the resulting findings.

Evolution of the Problem

Our interest in this problem evolved as we searched the literature for a paper examining rural and urban differences in occupational goals of Negro adolescents.[1] We noted considerable confusion on the subject and a host of assertions lacking explicit empirical support. We found that some social scientists were attempting to explain the recent rash of anti-social behavior by Negro youth on the basis of their rising aspirations.[2] The reasoning behind such explanations appears to be as follows - ambitions of Negro youth are rising, opportunities for mobility are not rising as quickly, this produces frustration and anxiety, which in turn results in delinquent or anti-social behavior. This form of logic is evidenced in the following quotation cited from a recent book by Broom and Glenn: "As Negroes have acquired more nearly the same aspirations, goals, tastes, and standards as other Americans - in other words, as they have been assimilated into the main stream of American culture - they have become more impatient with second-class citizenship."[3] Carrying this reasoning further in the same book, these authors state: "An increased disparity between aspirations and attainments and a feeling that the gap could be closed got the Negro protest movement underway."[4]

Similarly strong statements have been made by other social scientists who have attempted to explore the recent seemingly anti-social behavior of some Negro young people.[5] Inherent in all of these statements, explicitly or implicitly, is the assertion that ambitions and social aspirations of Negro youth have risen to the point where they are similar to those held by white youth. This assertion is rarely provided with the support of any empirical evidence. Opposing this more general point of view is the belief held by some social scientists that differential attainments of Negro and white people can be explained, at least in part, by Negroes having lower level aspirations.[6] We were interested enough in these apparently undocumented and conflicting assertions to see if we could find reports of past research that would offer some basis for evaluating their validity.

Review of Relevant Research

Some time ago, Merton, in his theory of social structure and anomie, proposed that inculcation of high success goals of various kinds is a patterned characteristic that cuts across subcultural differentiation in our society.[7] While past research, primarily on occupational-educational aspirations, has consistently demonstrated differences in level of aspiration between significantly differentiated population groupings, the same evidence appears to offer general support for Merton's contention - in that most of this research indicates that regardless of differences all types of youth maintain high level aspirations.[8]

Our review of research reports concerned with aspirations turned up a small number of studies providing Negro-white comparison.[9] All

but one of these reports dealt with occupational aspirations. One was concerned with educational aspirations. Research providing Negro-white comparisons on other types of aspirations is sadly lacking.[10]

A close inspection of the findings reported from these past studies indicated that they were divided in their conclusions as to racial differences in aspirations.[11] Although most of the authors of the reports reviewed focused on differences between the racial groupings, the data on which the different analyses were based consistently demonstrates that the majority of both Negro and white youth have high goals.[12]

Research Perspective

In the analysis to be reported we hope to test the validity of Merton's proposition as it applies to several different types of social aspirations held by Negro and white boys who were studied as high school sophomores in three Texas counties during the Spring of 1966.[13]

We do not intend to provide an extensive theoretical framework for our problems at this point - it did not evolve as a test of theory. Instead we intend to proceed directly to test the proposition and then honestly and explicitly to expose our findings to ex post facto interpretation in order to derive broader theoretical implications worthy of test and policy recommendations deserving consideration.

Specification of Research Objectives

Conceptual Framework

Most past research concerned with the study of social aspirations has been limited to a focus on a single goal area or at the most two such

areas.[14] In all probability this sort of a limited perspective does not represent the reality experienced by most people. Merton, in developing the conceptual framework for his theory of anomie, proposed that most people maintain a set of different goals. He termed this set a "frame of aspirational reference."[15] This idea seemed fruitful to us as a means of ordering our problem, since we had available indicators for four different goals - income, occupation, education, and place of residence.

In theory the frame of aspirational reference is indeterminately variable from person to person in reference to the number of meaningful goals that might be included and as pertains to both the particular goals involved and their ordering in a hierarchy of relative importance. Our own analysis will be limited to the four goal areas mentioned previously. Consequently, the best we can do is to examine what is in reality a partial frame of aspirational reference for our respondents. There is no way we can determine what other status goals our respondents may have held and/or to what extent these were held generally. Nevertheless, we feel that our study represents a unique contribution in expanding the empirical application of the aspirational frame of reference beyond the usual consideration of one goal area, or in fewer cases, two goal areas.

The basic components of the frame of aspirational reference are the particular aspirations applicable to specified areas of social status. In the past considerable terminological confusion has existed in regard to this word aspiration; therefore, it is useful to specify our meaning for this term.[16] By <u>aspiration</u> we mean a person's, or grouping of persons' orientation toward some desired and socially meaningful object

or state - a desire to attain some socially significant attribute or status. This idea should be clearly distinguished from a related but qualitatively different idea, expectation, which refers to the anticipation of attaining something whether it is desired or not.

The idea of aspiration can be viewed as consisting of two analytically separable elements - the orientation element (desire) and the object of the orientation (goal).[17] Our analysis will be limited, for the most part, to an examination of goal elements structured into a hierarchy of levels; however, we do intend to examine briefly the relative importance of different goals to the respondents under consideration.

Research Objectives

Our general problem is to empirically evaluate the proposition that Negro and white youth have similar levels of aspiration. Our ability to examine this general problem is limited by the number and kinds of goals for which we have indicators - income, occupation, education, and place of residence. Within the context of our data we have derived four specific tests for the general proposition stated above - one for each of the four goals for which we have indicators. More specifically, we hypothesize that our Negro and white respondents hold goals of similar levels in reference to (1) income, (2) occupation, (3) education, and (4) place of residence.

Source of Data and Research Procedures

Respondents

Our ability to generalize from our findings is limited by the restrictive nature of the population studied. The data used for this analysis were obtained during April and May of 1966 from all high school sophomores, attending school the day of the interview, in three East Texas counties. For the purpose of this analysis, we have limited ourselves to the male portion of the respondents contacted. No attempt was made to contact students enrolled in school but not present the day of the interview or persons of similar age who had previously dropped out of school.

The general population of the three relatively homogeneous counties from which our subjects were selected have important characteristics that differ from the more inclusive populations of Texas and the U.S. Specifically, they are among the lowest 15 percent of Texas counties ranked by median family incomes in 1959, they are all-rural counties, and they have relatively high proportions of nonwhite population as compared to the state or nation. Moreover, the study counties are in a cultural area characteristic of the traditional South with regard to race relations.[18] A summary table comparing these county units with Texas and the United States on a number of key socio-economic indicators is provided in Appendix A.

A description of the social background attributes of the two racial groupings involved would be useful in providing a framework for interpreting the significance of our findings. Consequently, we intend to present brief summary comparisons of these two groupings on selected

characteristics using pooled county unit data and individual data obtained from our study. These short summaries were abstracted from a detailed comparison given in Appendix B.

It can be stated unequivocally that the white and Negro population of the study area differ markedly in several respects, Table 1. The white population has higher income, larger farms, and more education, together with considerably greater employment in skilled occupations. Data obtained from the individual respondents indicated similar Negro-white differences. The two groupings differed considerably in the occupational and educational background of their parents and with regard to the family situation in which they lived, Table. 2

Data Collection

The respondents were presented with a lengthy questionnaire requiring from 35 minutes to an hour to complete. In each particular school contacted, the questionnaires were administerd to the entire sophomore class as a group. The respondents were assured of anonymity before starting on the questionnaire.[19] Trained graduate assistants read outloud each stimulus question. At the same time another graduate assistant observed and aided respondents as they proceeded through the questionnaire.

Instruments

For each of four status areas a stimulus question was provided in the questionnaire to obtain responses that would indicate status goals. In each case a stimulus question was structured in such a manner, in

Table 1. General Comparison of White and Negro Population of the Study Area, 1960

Characteristic	White	Negro
Occupation (male)	31.9% Unskilled 26.4% Skilled (nonprofessional)	66.2% Unskilled
Average farm size	389 acres	69 acres
Median family income	$2,800	$1,300
Median years of school completed (adults)	7.6 years	5.5 years
Resident in towns (1,000-2,499 pop.)	21.7%	8.1%

Source: Summarized from data in Appendix B.

Table 2. General Comparison of White and Negro Youth Respondents, 1966 Survey

Characteristic	White	Negro
	- - - percent - - -	
Main breadwinner is other than father	13.2	33.7
Main breadwinner is laborer or operative	20.5	57.3
Main breadwinner is owner, manager or professional	24.5	4.5
Father's education less than high school graduate	61.4	76.5
Mother's education less than high school graduate	52.3	69.3
Mother working or looking for work	40.5	67.0
Parents living together	81.6	64.6
Average number of living siblings	2.9	5.8

Source: Summarized from tables in Appendix B.

terms of word elements, to elicit ultimate goals. The four stimulus questions pertaining to goals were scattered throughout the questionnaire. Each of these particular instruments had been thoroughly pretested on a wide variety of adolescents prior to inclusion in the final questionnaire. Let us briefly examine each of these instruments and the measurements utilized on the data obtained from them. Exact replicas of the instruments as they appeared in the questionnaire, as well as original measurement categories and frequency distributions of responses, are included in Appendix C.

A question asking the student to indicate, through a free response, the highest yearly income that he really thought he would "ever be able to make" served to provide indicators for income goals.[20]

Responses indicating occupational goals resulted from the following question - "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work?" A modification of the widely used census scheme was used for the original classification of these responses.[21]

The stimulus question used for educational goals asked the student to indicate how much education he would want if he was completely free to choose and could have as much as he desired. The student was to indicate his answer to this question by circling one of seven structured categories ranging from "quit high school and never go to school again" to "complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university."[22]

As was the case for education, the stimulus question used to elicit

residence goals was highly structured. The student was asked to circle one of eight alternative categories representing the kind of place he would most desire to live for the rest of his life. The alternatives provided as responses to the question ranged from very large city to living on a farm not near a city.[23]

The raw data respresenting each goal was originally coded into variable numbers of categories. We felt that it would simplify our analysis if we could standardize the number of categories for all four goal areas. Therefore, we established a set of four rank ordered classes indicating the following relative goal levels: very high, high, moderate, and low, Diagram 1. For each type of goal these level categories were obtained by collapsing the more specific categories used in the original coding of the raw responses. Complete tabular presentations of the proportional distribution of responses over these original categories is given in Appendix C. In addition, we have noted the content of the modified level categories for each type of goal in Diagram 1.[24]

Analysis and Findings

The analysis and findings are presented in six sections. The first four represent the comparative analyses of racial groupings by each one of the four major goal areas. The fifth section is a comparison of goal hierarchies by race and the sixth section is a summary.

Diagrm 1: Goal-Level Categories Used in the Analysis of Income, Occupational, Educational, and Residence Aspirations

Goal-Level	Goal-Area			
	Income (thous. per yr.)	Occupation	Education	Residence*
	Content of Level Categories			
1. Very High	15+	Professional, Technical & Kindred	4 Years of College+	Large City
2. High	9 to 15	Glamour, Manager, Official, Farm Owner or Foreman	4 Years of College	Small City
3. Moderate	3 to 5	Clerical, Sales, Skilled Worker	High School + Additional Formal Training	Near a City
4. Low	-3	Operative, Laborer, Domestic Service	High School Graduate or Less	Not Near a City

*Although we realize place of residence does not fall into a hierarchy of rank levels as clearly as the other types of goals, we decided to use a rank hierarchy based on relative size of place. This corresponds to the magnitude of change (and perhaps difficulty) of the goal attainment for the respondents since all came from rural, nonmetropolitan places (not near a city).

Income Goals

Comparative analysis of income goal levels held by whites and Negroes indicates that white youth generally hold slightly higher income goals than Negro youth, Table 3. The major difference between the racial groupings occurs in reference to the low goal level - where Negro boys proportionately outnumber the whites 4 to 1. Of equal significance is the fact that a vast majority of both Negro and white youth hold high income goals. Generally we conclude that, while there are differences in the proportional distribution of the Negro and white respondents over the goal-level categories, they are generally similar in indicating a majority of respondetns holding high goals and relatively small minorities holding low goals.

Occupational Goals

The findings on occupational goal levels are very similar to those reported above for income. Again, the white youth were generally slightly higher in their job goals than the Negro counterparts, Table 4. And again, the difference was accounted for mostly by proportional variation at the low goal level - the Negroes having three times as many respondents as the whites at this level. Although these differences seem to be slightly larger than the differences in reference to income, it must be emphasized that the racial groupings are generally similar in that a majority of both had high goal levels.

Educational Goals

Our analysis of educational goal levels produced differences clearly the reverse of those observed in reference to occupation and income. The

Table 3. A Comparison of Negro and White Income Goal Levels

Goal-Level	Negro (94)	White (151)
	- - - - - - percent - - - - - -	
1. Very High	47	50
2. High	19	26
3. Moderate	17	20
4. Low	17	4
TOTAL	100	100
No Information	4	2

$x^2 = 12.49$ d.f. = 3 $P > .001 < .01$

Table 4. A Comparison of Negro and White Occupational Goal Levels

Goal-Level	Negro (97)	White (151)
	- - - - - - percent - - - - - -	
1. Very High	33	40
2. High	21	26
3. Intermediate	21	27
4. Low	25	7
TOTAL	100	100
No Information	1	2

$x^2 = 14.86$ d.f. = 3 $P > .001 < .01$

Negroes were observed to have generally higher educational goal levels than white boys, Table.5.. Particularly marked is the proportional difference at the very highest level, education beyond a four-year college degree. Surprisingly, almost two-fifths of the Negro respondents were classified in this category as compared with only about one-sixth of the white youth. At the other extreme, although small minorities of either racial grouping had low goals, the proportion of whites was twice as large as the proportion of Negroes. While these differences appear to contradict what was observed in reference to income and occupational goals, there is a similarity in that clear majorities of both racial groupings had high educational goal levels - almost two-thirds of the Negroes wanted to obtain at least a four-year college degree as compared with substantially more than half of the white boys.

Residence Goals

The residence goals held by our Negro and white respondents were clearly different. The bulk of the Negro respondents desired to live in a large city and most of the remainder preferred to live near a city, Table 6. On the other hand, a majority of the white boys preferred living near a city, and, the largest percentage of the remainder selected a small city, Table 6. A small minority of either grouping desire to live away from a city, but, three times as many white as Negro boys made this preference. Racial differences are significant across the board on these residence categories. The greatest difference exists in terms of the large city - where almost two-thirds of the Negro boys are classified as compared with only one-eighth of the white boys.

Table 5. A Comparison of Negro and White Educational Goal Levels

Goal-Level	Negro (97)	White (152)
	- - - - - - percent - - - - - -	
1. Very High	39	16
2. High	25	41
3. Intermediate	30	28
4. Low	6	15
TOTAL	100	100
No Information	1	1

$x^2 = 22.40$ d.f. = 3 $P < .001$

Table 6. A Comparison of Negro-White Place of Residence Goals in Terms of Size of Place

Residence Goal	Negro (98)	White (153)
	- - - - - - percent - - - - - -	
1. Large City	61	12
2. Small City	11	21
3. Near a City	23	50
4. Not Near a City	5	17
TOTAL	100	100
No Information	0	0

$x^2 = 69.03$ d.f = 3 $P < .001$

the one similarity that appears to exist in the two distributions is that both groupings clearly indicate a desire to live either near or in a city. This has particular significance when it is taken into consideration with the fact that all of these students were living in extreme type rural places (all-rural nonmetropolitan places of residence). Consequently, it can be generally stated that both white and Negro boys desired to change their current place of residence.

Goal Hierarchies

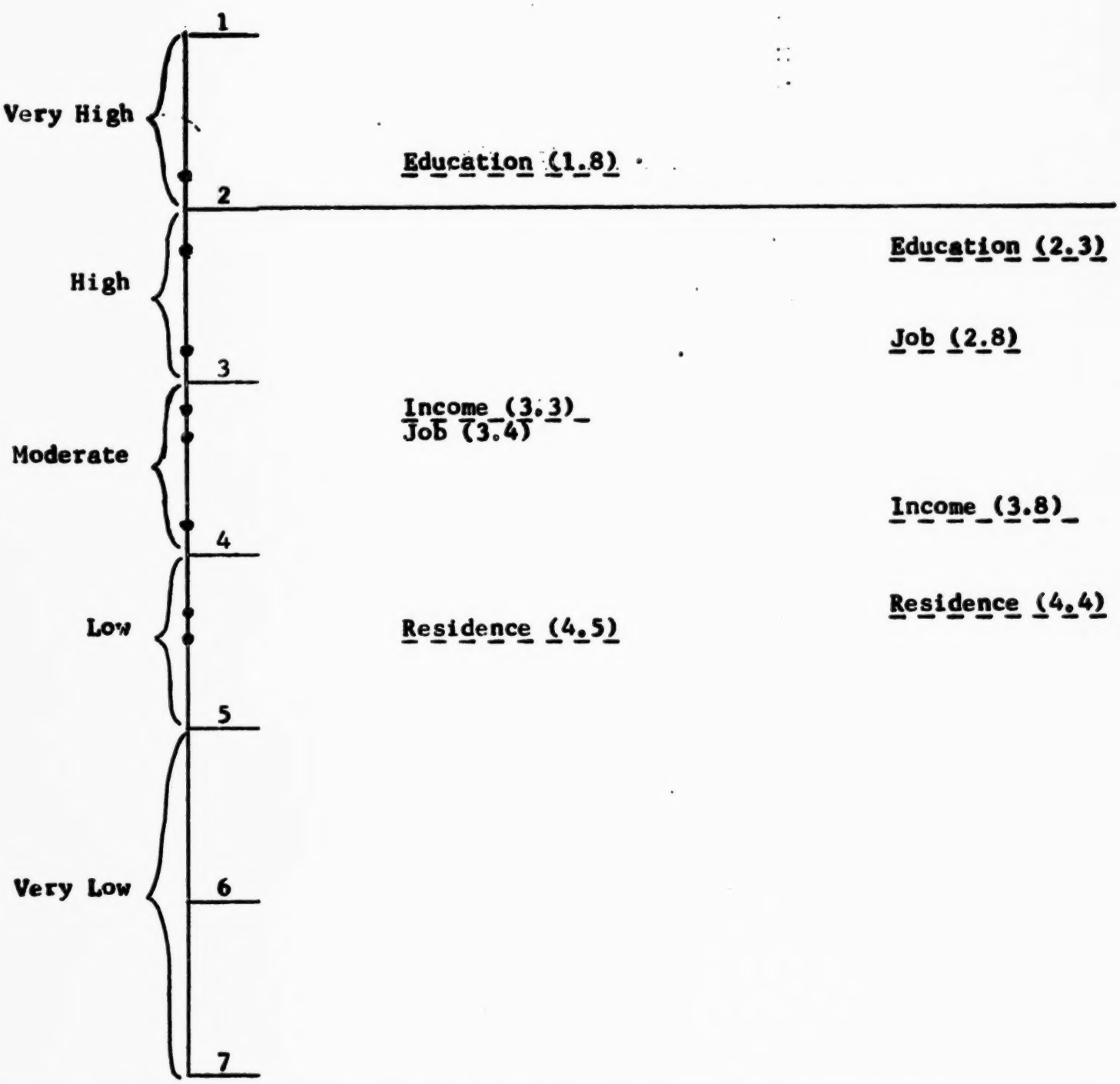
The students' values as indicated by the rank order importance in which they placed their status goals, indicates similar profiles between white and Negro boys, Table 7. Roughly, the profiles are alike in that both groupings tended to put most importance on education and least importance on residence. However, some racial differences can be clearly noted. A diagrammatic illustration of the score locations on a fixed scale illuminates these, Diagram 2. The Negro had a tendency to place more importance on education and less importance on occupation than the white boys. For the Negro, education was clearly more important than either job or income, which had about equal importance to him. On the other hand, for the white, education and occupational goals were similar in importance and clearly differentiated from income goals. There is no difference between the import given to residence as a goal.

Table 7. A Comparison of the Goal Hierarchies of Negro and White Boys - Mean Level of Importance

Goal	Negro	White
	- Mean Level of Importance Score -	
Education	1.8	2.3
Occupation	3.4	2.8
Income	3.3	3.8
Residence	4.5	4.4

Maximum Possible Range In Scores: 1-7.

Diagram 2: Graphic Depiction of Differences in Negro-White Aggregate Goal Hierarchy Profiles



*It should be noted that the scale depicted here utilizes equal intervals between numerical values. For purposes of illustration we are willing to assume that this approximates reality; however, it should be noted that all we can be certain of is a rather ambiguously rank ordered set of valuations - we know of no way of even estimating the nature of the intervals that may exist between any two values of the scale. This problem obviously points to a worthwhile area of effort for our scale-building colleagues.

Summary and Conclusions

Generally speaking it can be concluded that Negro and white boys were similar in that a majority of both held high goal levels for income, occupation, education, and, in a sense, residence, Table 8. However, while this evidence offers support for our general hypothesis - that Negro and white boys have similar goal levels, appreciable and meaningful aggregate differences existed between the two groupings in reference to each type of goal. The most important of these general differences are listed as follows:

1. Negroes had slightly lower income and occupational goal levels. The major difference in this respect was the proportionately larger number of Negroes than white having low goal levels.

2. Negroes tended to have higher educational goal levels than white boys - these differences appear to be more marked than those noted in reference to the prior mentioned goals.

3. Negro and white youth were clearly different in their place of residence preferences; however, they did have in common a desire to move in close proximity to, or in, a city. The major difference between the racial groupings was that the bulk of the Negro boys desired to live in a large city where most of the white youth preferred to live near a city or in a small city.

Table 8. A Summary Comparison of the Proportions of Negro and White Boys Holding High Level and Low Level Goals

Goal Level[1]	Type of Goal: Negro Income	Negro Job	Negro Education	Negro Residence	White Income	White Job	White Education	White Residence
	- - - - percent - - - -				- - - - percent - - - -			
High	66	54	64	95	76	66	57	83
Low	17	25	6	5	4	7	15	17

[1]The high level category used here includes both the "very high" and "high" categories used in the previous detailed descriptions by goal area except for the residence goal. For residence we included the "large city," "small city," "near a city" categories in the high level category shown above. The low level category used here corresponds directly with the previous low level categories - for residence goals it includes only the "not near a city" category. See the footnote to Diagram 1, page 11, for our reasoning relative to residence goal levels.

The findings of our comparative analysis of how the two groupings ordered their goals into a hierarchy of importance indicated that the profiles were similar in the general rank-order location of particular goals. However, an attempt to compare the magnitude of differences in relative importance attributed to particular goals appeared to indicate that Negro youth place more importance on educational and income goals and less importance on occupational goals than white youth. There did not appear to be a meaningful difference between the two in the importance attributed to residence goals.

Discussion

Theoretical Implications

The results of our analysis indicate that high success goals are characteristic of even the most deprived and disadvantaged youth in our society - the poor rural Negro of the South. This conclusion provides strong support for Merton's contention that patterned inculcation of high success goals approximates a universal in our society.[25] In addition, this conclusion strikes a significant blow toward undermining the myth that youth living in poverty circumstances lack an achievement orientation or the basic requisites for developing high levels of motivation for social and economic mobility.

The general similarity of the frames of aspirational reference existing for Negro and white youth offers substantial support for recent contentions that Negro youth have aspirations generally comparable to those of white youth. Whether or not this indicates, as some social scientists have speculated, that Negro youth have experienced a dramatic heightening of goals cannot be confirmed by our data or any other evidence of which we are aware.[26]

The inferences drawn above support the utility of Gordon's distinction between "behavioral assimilation" (acculturation) and "structural assimilation."[27] Gordon argues that inculcation of cultural values and norms proceeds at a very rapid rate, while assimilation in terms of interaction patterns proceeds at a very much slower pace. He further contends that the Negro minority in our society is acculturated.[28] The results of our study strongly support this contention, at least, as it pertains to inculcation of individual success goals.

Our results demonstrate the research utility of Merton's "frame of aspirational reference" in several ways. It was found that youth do maintain a complex configuration of goals, and, furthermore, that they rank the various goal elements involved in a patterned manner. Responses were characteristically high for all the goal elements involved in our operationalized version of the frame of aspirational reference. In addition, our analysis of the rank order importance of the several goals considered supports Merton's contention that elements of the frame of aspirational reference are valued differentially by individuals.[29] In reference to Negro-white differences in these valuations, we found similar rank order profiles existing for both racial groupings. However, our findings indicate that racial differences may exist in the degree of importance associated with particular goals. For instance, although educational goals were ranked as most important by both racial groupings, Negroes appeared to place more emphasis on this element of the aspirational frame of reference than did white youth. Obviously, much more research will be needed on this subject before any firm and highly generalized assertions can be made.

Interpreting the above conclusions within the framework of Merton's classic typology of modes of the individual's adaptation to society provides a basis for drawing inferences about the subsequent relationship that will probably exist between our respondents (and similar persons) and society.[30] Considering the relative disadvantage of the youth studied, both Negro and white, we would anticipate that few of them will make adaptations of the "conforming" or "ritualism" type. In all probability the bulk of these youth will become "innovators" or "rebels" and some will adapt by "retreating" from

reality. Because of the relatively greater disadvantage of the Negro youth, we would expect an even higher proportion of them to adapt through rebellion and retreatism as compared with their white counterparts. In fact, it would seem that a substantial minority of the Negro boys have already selected the retreatism mode - those holding low level occupational and income goals.

If our findings are found to be generally valid, and past research strongly supports this possibility, we can anticipate that low-income rural youth will provide a continuing reservoir of tension and strain within the larger society. This would seem to be particularly true for Negro boys in light of the fact that they generally have as high success goals as their white counterparts but are burdened by obviously greater impediments to attaining them.

Implications for Future Research

There is an obvious need to test the general validity of the conclusions and inferences drawn here. Although supporting evidence does exist for some of these, there is a glaring lack of information on income and residence goals, on the patterned nature of goal complexes, and on the valuation of goal elements within these complexes. In this respect, research needs to be extended in two directions. First of all, there is a need for additional studies of this kind on similar respondents and, also, to extend this line of analysis to other significantly differentiated segments of society. In addition, there is a need to extend the aspirational frame of reference beyond the few goals elements we considered. It is conceivable that persons hold a number of other goals, some of which may be more significant than those we have

considered. Determining what these are, the extent to which they are or are not held generally, and how they fit into hierarchies of valuation offer many important lines for developing new research. Past research on occupational and educational status orientations has indicated that some people distinguish between aspirations and expectations.[31] Future research is needed to determine how frames of aspirational reference correspond to similar complexes of expectations under varying conditions.

In order to test the explanatory utility of the ideas mentioned above, there is a need for longitudinally designed research which attempts to determine the nature and extent of relationship between projective phenomena and subsequent social and psychological behavior. Prior evidence has indicated that occupational status orientations of youth have some significance for subsequent job attainment and feelings of self-satisfaction.[32] Utilizing the more complex idea of frame of aspirational reference in similar types of research would provide a more realistic and complete understanding of what kind of goal sacrifices or costs are involved in the decision-making process of individuals. Such analysis should produce a higher level of predictive ability for subsequent status mobility as compared with past studies which have used a single goal as a predictive device.

Policy Implications

Our findings indicate that the disadvantaged position of rural youth in social mobility is not explained by a lack of high goals, for either Negroes or whites. In fact, any policy or action program aimed at raising goal or expectation levels of these youth would be compounding what appears to be an already critical problem. A more realistic and possibly more effective

ameliorative program would be to lower goal levels of these youth. Guidance programs aimed at developing reasonable combinations of goals, personal abilites and interests, for the opportunities available to particular individuals, might reduce widespread personal frustration and individual and collective acts of social hostility which are almost sure to evolve from the present socially patterned situation. Equally important, consideration must be given to expanding modes of opportunity for the realization of whatever goals are held. For all rural youth, but particulary Negroes, there is a need to provide substantial support for development of better educational facilities of all kinds and at all levels.

Whatever the case, development of effective programs will hinge upon researchers developing a more thorough understanding of the social and social-psychological processes operating to either further or impede social mobility. There is a great need for experimental studies designed to determine how aspirational frames of reference can be changed, and, what influences these changes may have on the social mobility patterns of the individuals involved.

FOOTNOTES

1. William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison." Paper read at the Rural Sociological Society meetings, Miami Beach, August, 1966.

2. See among others, Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American, New York: Harper and Row, 1965, pp. 182-183; John W. Dyckman, "Some Conditions of Civic Order in an Urbanized World," Daedalus (Summer, 1966), pp. 802-803; C. Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change,"Daedalus, 2 (Winter, 1966), pp. 1-23.

3. Broom and Glenn, op.cit, p. 182.

4. Ibid., p. 183.

5. For example, a similar line of reasoning is evident in a statement by Dyckman indicating that the "Watts uprising" was, in part, due to resentment evolving from the Negroes' inability to attain their expectations for material level of living, which implies income and employment goals as prerequisites, op.cit., pp. 802-803.

6. Surprisingly, in that it apparently contradicts other of their statements (see pp. 182-183), Broom and Glenn make this assertion in describing general personality orientations of Negroes. They state that, "it is likely that the Negro personality characteristics that develop in response to discrimination and prejudice tend to set Negroes apart from other Americans, lessen their ambition and efficiency, and reinforce negative white attitudes," op.cit., p. 34 (emphasis is ours). Also, among others, see Frank Riessman, "A Portrait of the Underprivileged" in Poverty In Affluence edited by Will and Vater, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1965 and I. T. Stone, et. al., "Poverty and the Individual" in Poverty Amid Affluence, edited by Leo Fishman, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

7. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (rev. ed.), Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 134-141 and pp. 166-176. In a more recent article Milton Gordon supports Merton's contention as it applies to Negroes and other low status minorities. His major thesis is that "behavioral assimilation" (acculturation) has taken place rapidly, while "structural assimilation" has not. Daedalus, (Spring, 1961), pp. 263-285.

8. This generalization appears to be valid for all types of comparisons: rural-urban, male-female, various age groupings, types of family structure, various social classes, as well as racial. For evidence

see various annotations of past research included in the following report: William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report 66-7, September, 1966. Other compilations of such evidence can be found in the following reports: D. Gottlieb and J. Reeves, Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963; and R. B. Jacobsen, et. al., The Family and Occupational Choice: An Annotated Bibliography, Eugene: University of Oregon, Center For Research in Occupational Planning, 1966.

9. This small number is rather remarkable when one considers the large number of studies of social aspirations that have been reported - in two recent bibliographies we listed more than 300 citations of such reports. See William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Information Report 66-1, June, 1966, and Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Aspirations and Expectations: Educational, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Information Report 66-7, September, 1966.

10. In all honesty, we have not reviewed the literature pertaining to other goals such as income and family formation as thoroughly. However, an inspection of reports we had on hand in these problem areas did not turn up anything of significance. A thorough review of the few reports on place of residence aspirations provided evidence from one prior study that Negro youth tend to desire urban residence to a greater extent than rural white youth. For this review and a more detailed and inclusive consideration of the place of residence orientations of the respondents involved in this study, see William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, "Community of Residence Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Implications for Action." Paper presented at the 1967 meetings of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers in New Orleans, January, 1967. Copies are available upon request.

11. The following reports indicate that Negro and white aspirations are relatively high and do not differ significantly: Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientations and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-212; W. S. Bennett, Jr. and N. P. Gist, "Class and Family Influences on Students," Social Forces, 43 (December, 1964), pp. 167-173; N. P. Gist and W. S. Bennett, Jr., "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42 (October, 1963), pp. 40-48. The latter two reports came from the same set of data. The two studies involved in these reports include a variety of particular populations: two different regions of the U.S., students in grades 9-12, and middle sized to large sized cities.

Four reports provide evidence that Negro youth have lower aspirations than white youth: David Gottlieb, "Goal Aspirations and Goal Fulfillments: Differences Between Deprived and Affluent American Adolescents," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 34 (October, 1964), pp. 934-941; C. M. Grigg and R. Middleton, "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations," Rural Sociology, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 347-354; E. Grant Youmans, et.al., After High School What: Highlights of a Study of Career Plans of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties, Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Program, 1965; R. G. Holloway and J. V. Berreman, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (Fall, 1959), pp. 56-60. These studies include respondents varying in age (grades 6-12), from a wide variety of different sizes of places, from just about every major region of the U.S., and represent a span of time ranging, at least, from 1954 to 1962.

Three reports indicate that Negro youth have higher aspirations than white youth: Lawrence W. Drabick, The Vocational Agricultural Student and His Peers, Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 1, August, 1963; Aron Antonovsky and Melvin J. Lerner, "Occupational Aspirations of Lower Class Negro and White Youth," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959), pp. 132-138; Russell Middleton and Charles M. Grigg, "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations," Rural Sociology, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 347-354. The respondents in these studies were from the north and south, from rural places and urban areas, ranged in age from 16-20 years (most were in the upper part of this range), and the studies covered a period from 1954-1963.

12. In every instance, with the exception of Holloway and Berreman, (see footnote 11 above), reported findings indicated that a majority of both Negro and white youth have high goals.

13. This study was designed to provide information on the mobiltiy orientations of rural youth living in low-income areas and is part of a larger regional study of the South being carried out in cooperation with the Cooperative State Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Regional project #S-61).

14. A rough estimation would indicate that considerably more than half of all research done on social aspirations relates to occupational projections and the greater part of the remainder have focused on education.

15. Merton, op.cit., pp. 132-133.

16. The two ideas of aspiration and expectation have often been confused in past research even though there is a host of evidence that people do differentiate between these two ideas and that this distinction can be of critical significance. For a discussion of this conceptual

problem see William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276 and Kuvlesky and Pelham, op.cit.

17. Ibid.

18. Among other particular facets of this cultural configuration, the practice of racial segregation of students and teachers in the public school system is obviously of critical importance. For instance, our respondents come from 23 different high schools of which only one had experienced more than "token" integration. The size of the sophomore classes ranged from 5 to 70 students. Of the 13 all-Negro schools contacted, all had fewer than 30 and the majority less than 20 sophomores. It should be noted that this situation has changed dramatically in many cases in the 12 months since our field work.

19. See the front cover of the questionnaire given in Appendix C.

20. See Appendix C for the actual instrument and original coding scheme.

21. See Appendix C for the actual instrument and original measurement categories.

22. See Appendix C for the actual instrument and original set of categories.

23. See Appendix C for the actual instrument and original set of categories.

24. We want to emphasize that we do not mean to imply that there is a direct equivalence in the goal levels of different goal areas. In each case the responses were classified on the basis of what appeared to us to be meaningful and useful distinctions within each goal area, considered alone.

25. Merton, op.cit., pp. 136-139

26. An evaluation of the extent and nature of change in goals held by Negroes would require data from longitudinally designed studies or, at least, on Negroes of the same age and from the same type locations in the society at different points in time. As far as we can determine, such information does not exist. For a relatively complete review of the research that has been done on occupational orientations held by Negroes, see William P. Kuvlesky and Michael Lever, Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, College Station, Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report (Forthcoming in May, 1967).

27. Gordon, op.cit.

28. Ibid.

29. Merton, op.cit., p. 132 and p. 171.

30. Ibid., Chapters 4 and 5.

31. William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276.

32. For a summary of such evidence, see William P. Kuvlesky, "Occupational Aspirations and Subsequent Attainment: A Longitudinal Study of Young Adults." Paper presented at the SW Sociological Association meetings, New Orleans, April, 1966.

APPENDIX A

DATA ON STUDY COUNTIES

APPENDIX A

Table 1. A Comparison of Rural Counties Used in the Study with Texas and the U.S. On Key Indicators of Socio-Economic Condition.*

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Negro (Percent)	Low-Income[1] Families (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median Years of School (Adults)	Percent of Labor Force Unskilled[2]
San Jacinto	6	52	69	$1,737	7	54
Burleson	11	31	59	2,451	8	43
Leon	9	38	67	1,946	9	44
Texas	9,581	13	29	4,884	10	36
U. S.	179,323	11	21	5,657	10	36

*All information was obtained from 1960 Census data.

[1]Families with annual incomes below $3000.

[2]Operatives and Laborers.

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF WHITE AND NEGRO BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF WHITE AND NEGRO BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES

To provide a background for the comparison of the aspirations of our respondents it is important to understand the social circumstances out of which they come. Below are stated briefly some of the ways in which the white and Negro populations and respondents differ significantly. There are two levels to this analysis: first the entire white and Negro populations of the study counties are considered; then the student respondents by themselves are discussed on the basis of information they supplied.

The Study Area

For analysis of the white and Negro populations of the three East Texas counties from which the study comes we have chosen to disregard individual counties and to combine the data on all three units into data for the "study area," thus facilitating simple comparisons across the white/Negro color line.

In spite of the fact that the area is entirely rural, and basically low-income, there are very great differences to be noted between the white and Negro groupings. In the first place, occupationally Negroes are consistently found in lower skilled and lower prestige positions than whites. (See Table B-1) Two-thirds of the employed Negro males are in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, while less than one-third of the white men are in such positions. On the other hand, 26 percent of white males, but less than 10 percent of Negroes were in skilled trades or lower white collar jobs, and 10 percent of white but less than one percent of nonwhites were in managerial positions. Less difference is to be noted with regard to the professions, and farm ownership or management are proportionately similar with the exception that Negro operators had an average of 69 acres compared to the white operators' 389 acres. (Table B-2)

With regard to family incomes, a gross comparison of Negro and white groupings shows the median Negro family income was only $1,300 in 1959, compared to $2,800 for white families in the three counties. (Table B-3) Moreover, the nonwhite families averaged 4.2 members compared to 3.3 for whites, so per capita differences would be even greater. (Table B-4)

Educationally, some indication of the differences between the two races is found in the fact that the median level of education attained by adult whites is more than two years superior to that of Negroes - 7.6

years compared to 5.5 years. (Table B-5) The disadvantage of the Negro is clearer when it is pointed out that 36 percent had not gone beyond the fourth grade, while only 16 percent of the white adults had not surpassed that level. High school graduation or better had been achieved by 26 percent of white persons but only 10 percent of Negroes.

There were fewer farm operators among Negroes than white persons in the sample counties, but about 92 percent of the nonwhite population lived in small towns (under 1000 population) or in the open country compared to 78 percent of whites. (Table B-6) Although there were no places as large as 2,500 in the entire area, one-fifth of the white population lived in communities of greater than 1000 inhabitants, indicating at least some residential differences among the two populations.

The Respondents

Turning to the second level of background comparison - that of the two racial groupings among our young respondents themselves - there are also some notable differences beyond those noted in the main text.

Probably the most significant differential involves the main breadwinner in the household from which the youth come. One-third of the Negroes were principally dependent on someone other than their fathers for support, while only about one in eight of the white boys had anyone other than his father as the main family provider. (Table B-7) In addition, occupationally the white breadwinners were five times as likely to be owners, managers or professional people as were Negroes, while at the other end of the employment spectrum nearly three-fifths of Negro providers were laborers or operatives or otherwise unskilled as compared to only one-fifth of whites. (Table B-8) Another aspect of the different situation between our white and Negro respondents is with regard to the employment of the mother. White boys indicated that 40 percent of their mothers either were working, or looking for work, while among Negroes the corresponding figure was 67 percent. (Table B-9)

Educationally, the parents of Negroes had considerably less schooling than those of white boys in the three counties. Our data are crude, but would seem to indicate a significantly higher proportion of white parents completed high school. (Tables B-10 and B-11) Also, white respondents were more likely to be living with both of their parents, and had an average of 2.9 brothers and sisters living, while over a third of Negro boys lived with only one parent (or none in 14 cases), but had nearly 6 living brothers and sisters. (Tables B-12 and B-13)

In summary it can be stated unequivocally that the Negro and white boys who responded to our questions differed considerably as to the occupational and educational background of their parents, and with regard to the family situation in which they lived. The respondents would appear, on the basis of the data available, to differ in a similar fashion as do the two populations of the study counties.

APPENDIX B

Table B-1. Occupational Distribution of White and Nonwhite Employed Males, Sample Area, 1960

Occupational groups	Employed Males*			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional & Technical	188	4.5	53	3.4
Managerial	433	10.5	10	0.6
Clerical & Sales Personnel	274	6.6	18	1.1
Craftsmen, Foremen and Non-household Services	819	19.8	133	8.4
Operatives	694	16.7	168	16.9
Unskilled Workers	630	15.2	781	49.3
Farm Operators & Managers	1,108	26.7	321	20.3
TOTAL	4,146	100.0	1,584	100.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 84 and 88.

*Excluding those whose occupation was not reported.

Table B-2. Average Size of Farms of White and Nonwhite Farm Operators, Sample Area, 1959

Size Category	White Operators	Nonwhite Operators
Average size of farm	389 acres	69 acres
Average cropland harvested	57 acres	21 acres

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1959. Vol. 1, Counties, Part 37, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), County Table 3.

APPENDIX B

Table B-3. Annual Income of White and Nonwhite Families, Sample Area, 1959

Income group	Families			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $1,000	663	14.1	913	39.6
$1,000-1,999	1,099	23.3	801	34.7
$2,000-2,999	745	15.8	257	11.2
$3,000-3,999	582	12.3	114	4.9
$4,000-4,999	433	9.2	93	4.0
$5,000-8,999	902	19.1	110	4.8
$9,000 and over	292	6.2	19	0.8
Total families	4,716	100.0	2,307	100.0
Median Income	$2,800	----	$1,300	----

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 86 and 88.

Table B-4. Average Size of Family, White and Nonwhite Populations, Sample Area, 1960

	White	Nonwhite
Population in families*	15,756	9,776
Total number of families	4,716	2,307
Average size of family	3.34	4.24

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 82 and 87.

*Computed by subtracting "unrelated individuals" from total population.

APPENDIX B

Table B-5. Educational Achievement of White and Nonwhite Adults, Sample Area, 1960

Years of School Completed	Persons 25 Years and Over			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	418	4.0	487	9.2
1-4 years	1,285	12.3	1,423	26.8
5 and 6 years	1,411	13.5	945	17.8
7 years	1,254	12.0	643	12.1
8 years	1,371	13.1	609	11.5
9-11 years	1,991	19.1	635	11.9
12 years	1,656	15.9	292	5.5
1-3 years of college	682	6.5	102	1.9
4 or more years of college	377	3.6	177	3.3
TOTAL	10,445	100.0	5,313	100.0
Median Years Completed*	7.6 years		5.5 years	

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 83 and 87.

*Computed from grouped data.

Table B-6. Residential Distribution of the White and Nonwhite Population, Sample Area, 1960

Residential Area	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Town of 1,000-2,499	3,639	21.7	850	8.1
Places less than 1,000 or open country	13,137	78.3	9,655	91.9
Total, all places	16,776	100.0	10,505	100.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 29 and 30.

APPENDIX B

Table B-7. Identity of Main Breadwinner in Respondent Households

	Negro (N=95)		White (N=152)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Father	63	66.3	132	86.8
Mother	20	21.1	13	8.6
Brother or Sister	7	7.4	2	1.3
Other	5	5.3	5	3.3
TOTAL	95	100.1	152	100.0

No Information:
Negro=3
White=1

Table B-8. Occupation of Main Breadwinner in Respondent Households

	Negro (N=89)		White (N=151)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Farm owner	7	7.9	22	14.6
Farm laborer or laborer	37	41.6	16	10.6
Enlisted man and operative	14	15.7	15	9.9
Skilled trade	7	7.9	41	27.2
Sales and clerical	4	4.5	10	6.6
Owner	0	0.	30	19.9
Officer and professional worker	4	4.5	7	4.6
Entertainer	1	1.1	0	0.
Unemployed, don't know	15	16.9	10	6.6
TOTAL	89	100.1	151	100.0

No Information
Negro=9
White=2

APPENDIX B

Table B-9. Employment Status - Mother of Respondents

	Negro (N=94)		White (N=153)	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Mother or can't work	6	6.4	6	3.9
Full-time	24	25.5	37	24.2
Part-time	26	27.7	21	13.7
Looking for work	13	13.8	4	2.6
Does not work	25	26.6	85	55.6
Total	94	100.0	153	100.0

No Information:
Negro=4
White=0

Table B-10. Education of Father of Respondents

	Negro (N=98)		White (N=153)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Don't know	31	31.6	13	8.5
Less than high school graduate	44	44.9	81	52.9
High school graduate	18	18.4	39	25.5
Some college or college graduate	5	5.1	20	13.0
Total	98	100.0	153	99.9

No Information=0

APPENDIX B

Table B-11. Education of Mother of Respondents

	Negro (N=98)		White (N=153)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Don't know	21	21.4	15	9.8
Less than high school graduate	47	47.9	65	42.5
High school graduate	23	23.5	56	36.7
Some college or college graduate	7	7.2	17	11.1
Total	98	100.0	153	100.1

No Information=0

Table B-12. Marital Status of Parents of Respondents

	Negro (N=96)		White (N=152)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Together	62	64.6	124	81.6
Separated or Divorced	20	10.9	14	9.2
Father, Mother, both dead	14	14.6	14	9.2
Total	96	100.1	152	100.0

No Information:
Negro=2
White=1

APPENCIX B

Table B-13. Number of Living Siblings of Respondents

	Negro (N=97)		White (N=150)	
	No.	%	No.	%
3 or less	16	16.4	104	69.3
4 - 6	41	42.3	30	20.0
7 or more	40	41.2	16	10.7
Total	97	99.9	150	100.0
M	5.8		2.9	

No Information:
Negro=1
White=3

APPENDIX C

INSTRUMENTS AND ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT CATEGORIES

A. INSTRUMENTS

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used was 18 pages long. We purposefully did not elicit the students name until p. 18, which was designed to obtain information necessary to relocate students - this last page was removed from each questionnaire immediately. The cover page of the questionnaire was designed to develop confidence in the respondents in reference to the confidential nature of his responses and to rid him of an idea that he was undergoing evaluation. The front page is duplicated below:

CONFIDENTIAL No. _____

TEXAS YOUTH STUDY

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

This set of questions is part of a study of high school students in the southern United States. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what students think about their future and what they plan to do after they leave high school.

THIS IS NOT A TEST: There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in finding out your opinions about some important matters. No one in your school will ever see your answers. Special safeguards have been set up to make sure that your replies will be kept strictly confidential.

You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. However, we hope that you will cooperate to make this a good scientific study by answering all the questions as frankly and honestly as you can. We appreciate your help very much.

Goal Indicators

Indicators for each of the four particular status goals were obtained through the use of separate stimulus questions. Questions of the free-response type were used in reference to income and occupation and questions limiting response by providing structured alternative answers were employed to obtain indications of educational and residential desires. The questions are duplicated below exactly as they appeared in the questionnaire:

(Income Goal)

How much money would you desire to make a year if you could have any amount you desired? (GIRLS: If you plan to marry indicate the amount of money you would like your husband to make.) Place your answer in the following box:

$ a year

(Occupational Goal)

If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER:

(Educational Goal)

If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.
7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

(Residence Goal)

Of the kind of places listed below, in which one would you most desire to live for the rest of your life? (Circle only one number.)

In a City
1 Very large
2 Small

Near a City
3 In a town or village
4 In the country but not on a farm
5 On a farm

Not near a City
6 In a town or village
7 In the country but not on a farm
8 On a farm

Goal Hierarchy

To obtain an indication of the respondents goal hierarchy the following stimulus question was used:

Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each sentence and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having lots of free time to do what I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To develop my mind and get all the education I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To earn as much money as I can.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Getting the job I want most.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Living in the kind of place I like best.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

As can be seen, this question if a forced-choice type that requires the student to indicate how important each of his goals are as compared with others. It should be noted that items representing goal areas other than

the four being considered here were included in the instrument. When completed this instrument produced a rank-order scale value for the importance of each goal, relative to the other goals indicated - the scores range from 1, indicating most importance, to 7, indicating least importance. To be honest, it should be noted that this instrument proved difficult and time consuming for some of our rural Negro respondents. However, in pretests this instrument was compared with several other simpler types and produced comparable measures.

B. ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT CATEGORIES: Proportions of Respondents Classified in Goal Categories, by Race.

Table 1. Income Goals of Negro and White Boys

Goal	Negro (94)	White (151)
Annual Income	- - - - - percent - - - -	
1-999	4.3	1.3
1000-1999	5.3	1.3
2000-2999	7.4	1.3
3000-4999	5.3	4.0
5000-6999	6.4	7.9
7000-8999	5.3	7.9
9000-14,999	19.1	25.8
15,000-49,999	25.5	35.8
50,000+	21.3	14.6
TOTAL	99.9	99.9
No Information	4	2

Table 2. Occupational Goals of Negro and White Boys

Goal	Negro (97)	White (151)
	- - - - - percent - - - -	
High Professional	7.2	10.6
Low Professional	25.8	29.1
Glamour	15.5	9.9
Manager, official	5.2	15.9
Clerical & Sales	10.3	4.0
Skilled Worker	11.3	23.2
Operative	17.5	6.6
Laborer	7.2	.7
Housewife	0.	0.
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
No Information	1	2

Table 3. Education Goals of Negro and White Boys

Goal-Level	Negro (97)	White (152)
	- - - - - percent - - - -	
Quit high school	0.	1.3
Quit high sch., get voc. trng.	5.2	3.9
Graduate (HS)	1.0	9.9
High sch. & voc. trng.	22.7	18.4
Junior college	7.2	9.9
College or university	24.7	40.8
Additional studies after col. or univ.	39.2	15.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
No Information	1	1

Table 4. Place of Residence Goals of Negro and White Boys

Goal	Negro (98)	White (153)
	- - - - - percent - - - -	
(1) Very large city	61.2	11.8
(2) Small city	11.2	20.9
(3) Near a city		
Town or village	5.1	8.5
In country (nonfarm)	9.2	27.5
Farm	8.2	13.7
(4) Not near a city		
Town or village	1.0	1.3
Country (nonfarm)	3.1	7.8
Farm	1.0	8.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
No Information	0	0